1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

The old man says, "So, you won't obey? I'm going to check you off right now." The boy cries louder. 861

"Now stop that! Listen to me. Come over to me or I'm going to get you." The child is frightened. He tries to crawl behind his father, his mother, or his grandmother. But they act as if they have given the old man the privilege to do what he wants with the boy, and they push the boy forward. Then the old man grabs him and struggles with him. He puts him in the sack and says, "Are you going to behave?" 865

After that the boy is prompt and behaves. If he won't get wood, his mother says, "All right, I'll call the old man." Then he goes for the wood at once. After the old man works on him like this two or three times, he comes to be a good boy.

These old men look fierce and funny. The children are afraid of them. The old man is never the grandparent. It is always an outsider. The grandparent is there with the parents to see the child get his lesson. [603]

Cowing children by reference to ill-favored old people is not to be confused with a manner of joking practiced for another purpose: 522 887

An old woman might joke with a little boy, calling him her husband, telling him, "I'll be back tonight and see you," and making all kinds of funny remarks. Here is what is behind it. They say that when an old person jokes like this it will give long life and good luck to a little child. But [for an old person] to joke about this concerning someone of the child's age is not good. It's against the child. [777]

I've been joked at like this. My aunt [a mother's sister; the child's mother had died] used to play this trick on me. She picked out an old woman who was as ugly as anything. She used to say, "I've brought you up and you've got to do what I tell you. You must marry that old woman." The old woman, when she came around, would say, "I missed you last night. Come over to my place and I'll cook for you."

But they never mention relatives when they joke in this way. To do that will give the child bad habits and bad ideas. If you fool like that with a grandmother, you'll get used to being free with relatives. You'll see your own sister over there and have relations with her. You'll turn into a witch. To encourage joking about marriage with relatives is just like teaching your daughter to play cards all the time or to drink whiskey. 522 602 [754]

To return to other disciplinary measures:

For crying children we have some kind of covering. We do not whip the child if we can help it. We put the covering over the child's head and hold it that way until he stops crying. We do this to little children, do it several times until they stop crying. The little children do not like to have anything over their heads. That is one punishment. 865 861

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

cigarette was rolled by an old man or woman. This was done so the person could reach the age of the one who rolled it. The old person prayed and lit it for him."

Age brings prestige, if it is ever to come to an individual. The band leaders are chosen from the most forceful heads of local groups; local group leaders are the most authoritative voices of extended families. Few men who have not lived long enough to rear a large family and to see their daughters marry well head extended families. With his children and grandchildren around him and sons-in-law to do his bidding, a man may establish important alliances and gain political and economic stature. That older persons figure so prominently in the ceremonial and political life is significant for the grandparent-grandchild relations.

The rule of matrilocal residence permits constant contact between the child and his mother's parents. These kin are usually the oldest and, while they retain their vigor, the most respected members of the extended family. The family is the realization of the line they have founded. Their daughters and unmarried sons owe them obedience and deference, and their sons-in-law are bound and subordinated to them by strict social and economic rules.

The maternal grandparents concern themselves in countless ways with the child's development. They are constantly consulted by their daughter on problems of child-rearing. They are present at the first ceremonies held for the baby and contribute whatever is needed for these occasions. It is often one of these grandparents who acts as the cradle-maker and shaman of the cradle ceremony. They may suggest a first name for their grandchild. Their home is always open to him, and it is not unusual for him to sleep there. If his mother dies and his father leaves the extended family because it cannot offer him a suitable mate, the maternal grandparents are likely to rear the child.

My father was left an orphan at about six years of age and was brought up by his grandparent. It was his mother's father who took care of him. This man lived in Chiricahua country. My father lived there with him until he was twelve or fifteen years old. He was with the old man all the time. When he told about it in after years, he said he often wondered why this old man took such an interest in him. He often wondered if he was worth it, worth having so much attention

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

603 paid to him. My father said the old man was kind to him, was always gentle with him, and used to advise him. He took more trouble with him than other relatives did.

[538] [867] The maternal grandparents, who are the approved raconteurs for the children of the extended family, function to a considerable degree as teachers, for a good deal of instruction for the young comes obliquely through stories.

603 868 [855] [462] The influence of the maternal grandparents is not limited to oral instruction. While the younger men are hunting or raiding and the younger women are away gathering food or getting wood and water, the care of the children and the performance of camp tasks fall to the older people. The grandfather makes arrows, ropes, and many other objects. Often his grandson watches him or even assists him. The grandmother cooks, sews, and weaves baskets, occasionally pausing to explain her methods to her granddaughter.

603 869 756 Ceremonial knowledge may also be received from the grandparent. Many rites result from personal experiences with the supernatural, but a certain number are passed along to others by those who have had such individual encounters. When a ceremony is transmitted, it is most often taught to a relative. Usually a shaman is reluctant to reveal his secrets until he feels that the end of his life is near and that his ceremony will perish with him unless a successor is found. Thus there is a tendency for very old persons to seek younger relatives as their understudies in things ceremonial. The grandchild often proves a promising candidate, especially if he is not too young during his grandparent's declining years.

603 The paternal grandparents usually cannot hope for a great deal of contact with their son's child. At marriage their son has left their encampment, and his obligations are to his wife's relatives. Yet when it happens that the father's parents do live near the extended family into which their son has married, they take pleasure in being with their grandchildren and may even rival the maternal grandparents in solicitude.

601 603 Four kinship terms, one for each grandparent, label the grandparent-grandchild relationship. Since they are used as self-

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

reciprocals, one term, in its primary sense, stands for mother's mother and also, when a woman is speaking, for daughter's child; another indicates father's mother and likewise, when a woman is speaking, son's child, etc. 601 603.

It is a feature of this kinship system that siblings and cousins of the grandparent are addressed by the same term as the grandparent, regardless of sex. For example, the term for mother's mother also designates her sisters, brothers, and cousins. Reciprocally, the brothers or sisters of a woman will address this same term to their sister's daughter's child, male or female.

For the great-grandparent–great-grandchild relationship the terms of the grandparent-grandchild set are utilized. There is no strong feeling concerning the functions of the great-grandparents and no specialization of terminology. If they are active enough to participate in social, economic, and ceremonial matters, they are treated much as are grandparents. It is the duty of children to support old people who are so far past their prime, and members of the great-grandparent generation receive the extra consideration to which their extreme age entitles them. 603 [601] [888]

CHILDHOOD'S END

Childhood is, strictly speaking, a period of preparation for adult standards. The view of the world is not softened for the young beholder. The child and the adult often listen together to accounts of the rigors of the hunt, of the hardships and glories of war, and of the cruelties of the enemy. "As soon as I was old enough to know," said one informant, "I was told who were our enemies." Another man prefaced an exceptionally vivid description of a war dance with the remark, "When I was just old enough to understand and remember it, I saw them go through this performance." 867 [858] [868]

The child is early introduced to the goals and values of the society. An old man mentioned hunting as one of the first experiences he could recall. He was with older children who were shooting birds with slings, and he followed them around to see what they were doing. [868] [857]